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ABSTRACT

While language switching among multilinguals has been studied in a wide variety of contexts, few attempts have been made to generalize or to integrate findings into useful communication theory. Since language switching is an important part of personal as well as group identity and since issues surrounding language identity are often a focal point of interethnic conflict, the speech act of switching language merits a more concentrated study. This can be accomplished through such techniques as ethnographic description, consisting of participant observation, interviewing, and breaching experiments; conversation analysis of bilingual interaction; and examination of communication behavior through literature. Such diverse methods of study, however, are only a first step. An approach is needed that can integrate research findings into a useful intercultural theory and that may also be incorporated into education training in the field. Such a research direction can be provided by frame analysis, which offers a set of terms that describe metacommunication through language and code switching, and by multiple analysis research which approaches a communication event from several diverse perspectives simultaneously. (HOD)

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Abstract

This paper discusses three research approaches to investigation of communication strategy common to many multicultural settings: language/ code switching. Appropriateness, advantages and disadvantages are compared in regard to ethnographic methods, conversation analysis, and examination of communication behavior through literature. Finally, frame analysis and multiple analysis research approaches are proposed as bases for synthesizing findings into the kind of viable, focused theory of which many researchers have noticed a lack in the field of intercultural communication.

Language switching: Methods in Multicultural Madness

While language switching among multilinguals has been studied in a wide variety of contexts, few attempts have been made to generalize or to integrate findings into useful communication theory. Further, there are numerous multicultural settings in which language or code switching have not been investigated. The similarity between the act of switching languages and the act of switching codes or registers has not yet been explored, though the behaviors seem in many ways to be functionally equivalent. In short, language and code switching as communicative strategies have not yet found their "place" in the context of intercultural communication research and theory.

This essay attempts such integration by first, examining identity issues involved in language or code choice, such that language switching (LS) may be part of many more multilingual or multiethnic settings than previously realized. Next, three research strategies and contexts for which each may be appropriate are illustrated and compared. Finally, frame analysis and multiple analysis research efforts are proposed as bases for synthesizing findings into the kind of viable, focused theory of which many researchers have noticed a lack in the field of intercultural communication.

Identity and language choice

According to Scotton (1979), language choice involves an individual's identification with a social role or status relative to the interlocutor's status. A disidentification, by means of a marked or unexpected language choice, produces an emotional response from others involved in a given role relationship. Durkheim (1897) further notes that a loss of or threat to one's identity-

-a sense of anomie--may occur in the process of learning a second language. Second language acquisition differs from learning in other subjects; while math and chemistry, for example are learned from the perspective of one's own culture, language learning is a process of acquiring symbolic elements of a different ethnolinguistic community (Gardner, 1979). In short, learning a language involves or does violence to one's personal identity in a way that learning other subject matters does not.

Second language acquisition, which has been described as a situation so fundamentally traumatic as to cause schizophrenia-like emotions within the learner, then introduces language switching to the incipient bilingual. As access to the subsequent language increases, so may the clashes of cultural identity brought on by the need to choose one code or another in a widening variety of circumstances. Brown (1980) points out that language is the most visible expression of culture. A person's world view, self-identity, systems of thinking, acting, feeling, and communicating, are thus disrupted by changes from one language, and culture, to another.

In addition to its contribution to individual identity, language is an important definer of group membership. It is a linguistic boundary, or cleavage, between members of multilingual communities (Inglehart and Woodward, 1977), as well as a marker of ethnic identity or minority group membership (Taylor, 1977; Elias-Olivares, 1978; Rich, 1974). What language(s) one speaks offers important information about the primary cultural group(s) one belongs to. In fact, "(a) certain speech style or language can be a necessary attribute for membership of a particular ethnic group and an ideal medium for facilitating intragroup cohesion." (Ball, Giles & Hewstone, in press).

Since language is frequently a definer of group membership, it is no surprise that language issues are often a focal point of interethnic conflicts (Ball, Giles, & Hewstone, in press). Additionally, coexisting languages rarely occupy equal status in relation to each other within a given community (Andersson & Boyer, 1978; Inglehart & Woodward, 1972; Fishman, 1976); intergroup conflict centering around language issues is thus even less surprising. Examples of such conflict are numerous, and occur in such widely diverse settings as French Canada (Heller, 1978); Bangalore, India (The Times of India, May 20, 1982; The Hindu, May 20 and 24, 1982; The Dallas Morning News, May 29, 1982); and the southwestern U.S. (Penalosa, 1981). When language becomes a political issue of importance, use of the language may be associated with one's sympathies on that issue. Issues arising from bidialectalism and its role in identity formation are similarly relevant to analysis of multiethnic settings (Rich, 1974; Lewit & Abner, 1971.) Thus, understanding of tension in such settings must integrate knowledge of the role language choice plays in both individual and group identity.

In bilingual classrooms, such tensions and identity issues are an inescapable aspect of interaction, as teachers continually choose and switch between languages. In the multilingual communities which are the context for many such classrooms, attempts may be made to legislate which language is appropriate for given situations (Heller, 1978; Ninyoles, 1977). Despite these efforts, however, traditional categories of language use and functions may remain, as will status imbalances between languages that the laws may have been intended to correct.

In sum, since language switching is an important part of personal as well as group identity, and since it is a necessary aspect of several kinds of intercultural communication, the speech act of switching language merits concentrated study.

Obviously, language plays an important role in personal and group identity formation; and it is a crucial facet of many kinds of intercultural communication. Study of language attitudes in general and language/code switching in particular have been conducted through matched guise techniques (for an excellent review see Edwards, 1983). Other methods have included rating scales and measures of context-appropriateness and accentedness (see Carranza, 1983). Yet it has been suggested that, of all aspects of human behavior, speech is the most rapid to change when attention is focused upon it (Edwards, 1983.) Research which examines the behavior in its natural settings is clearly a necessity; as are schemas to integrate such findings into coherent intercultural communication theory. This essay will concentrate on three such naturalistic approaches: ethnographic methods, conversation analysis, and the study of communication behavior through literature. I will conclude with some directions for synthesis of results.

Ethnographic Methods

An approach common to anthropological field research which has in recent years been adapted to the study of communication behavior is that of ethnographic description. Interviews and observations are used to develop theories grounded in data of cultural description (Spradley, 1980). Communication contexts which have been studied in this way include the function of talk in male role definition (Phillipsen, 1975, 1976); waitress and customer interaction in a bar setting (Spradley & Mann, 1975); and meanings of silence in western Apache culture (Basso, 1972). This section will briefly describe several methods central to an ethnographic approach and illustrate their application to an investigation of LS in one multilingual setting. Then, the characteristics of settings to which an ethnographic approach is particu-

larly suited and the advantages and limitations of such a research strategy will be summarized.

Participant Observation. Research which is characterized by periods of social interaction between the investigator and the subjects, in the environment of the latter, has been termed participant observation. Observers immerse themselves in the lives of the people and the situations they wish to understand; during this period, data are unobtrusively and systematically collected (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975).

A study which employed participant observation as a primary strategy to investigate language switching was conducted in the Colegio, a private school for foreigners in Salamanca, Spain (Fitch & Hopper, 1983). Students in the Colegio came from diverse parts of the world and spoke a variety of languages. Though in theory all Colegio students were intent upon learning Spanish and could have been expected to speak it as much as possible, in reality languages which were shared among many students were a frequent recourse. Language switching was thus an important communicative strategy within the Colegio.

The investigator collected data for this research while a student at the Colegio, thus taking active part in the setting while simultaneously observing it for purposes of study. Spradley (1980) points out several differences between a participant observer and an ordinary participant which may serve to clarify the role of the former:

1. Once an ordinary participant has learned the cultural rules for a social setting, the rules become tacit. Conversely, the goal of the participant observer is to make explicit the cultural norms of a given setting in order to gain insight into the culture under study. While language switching was a common communicative strategy for the investigator studying at the Colegio,

as it was for all students immersed in the setting, the researcher's aim was to describe in detail those conditions under which switching took place: conditions which other participants took for granted.

2. While the complexity of social life demands that ordinary participants block out some stimuli from conscious awareness, in order to avoid information overload, the participant observer seeks to become explicitly aware of such detail. While most students at the Colegio concerned themselves only with interactions in which they themselves were involved, for example, the researcher observed as many conversations as possible. The investigator's goal was to observe both those language switching events in which she was involved, and those which involved other participants.

3. Ordinarily, paticipants in a social setting are either "insiders" or "outsiders", i.e., they either are a part of ongoing action or they are not. The participant observer attempts to be both an insider and an outsider to the field of study. While observing the events taking place, both those which involve the researcher and those which do not, the participant observer simultaneously takes note of his/her subjective experience of the event, the emotions and reactions she feels as events unfold. The researcher studying the Colegio, for example, not only observed individuals being included in and excluded from groups by means of language choice; she had the experience of being included and excluded in the same way.

4. Finally, unlike ordinary participants, the participant observer will construct detailed records of observations and feelings of experiences that are, to others, commonplace occurrences. While others carried on routine school-setting behavior, the Colegio researcher frequently sought relative seclusion in order to record language switching events immediately after they occurred.

Interviews. A critique which is frequently leveled at participant observation is that, however diligently a researcher may attempt to view events through the eyes of the people s/he aims to understand, the perspective of a single individual is necessarily biased. The feelings which the investigator records are his own; though the assumption is made that others have similar reactions when confronted with similar circumstances, this cannot be assured. Yet Bogdan & Taylor argue that "(w)hat these critics often fail to realize is that the researcher acts as a selective sieve in all forms of research. For example, those who are involved in survey research choose questions that correspond to their notions of what is important, and consequently force reality into a preconceived structure"--whereas the goal of the participant observer is to let meanings emerge from careful observation and record-keeping.

Nonetheless, an important aspect of ethnographic inquiry is asking the interpretations of other individuals involved in the setting. This information may be elicited by both informal and formal interviews.

In the Colegio study, the researcher frequently asked "naive" questions of those involved in language switching incidents: "Why do you suppose she spoke German to you just now?" "Do you ever speak a language other than Spanish?" "Do you think any one group of people here speaks their native language more than other groups do?" In addition to this type of informal questioning, 45 more structured interviews were conducted as part of the Colegio study. Questions were open-ended; for example, "When do you speak your native language in Spain?" "Do people ever react to your speaking your native language? How would you describe their reactions?" In analysis of the data, interview responses and the researcher's observations were grouped into categories to provide descriptive data of language switching behavior and reactions to it within this setting.

Breaching Experiments. A final method of discovering cultural rules in an ethnographic study has been described by Garfinkel (1967) as breaching experiments. Once the investigator has spent sufficient time in a setting to gain a clear picture of cultural norms, it can be enlightening to break those rules to see what, if any, sanction occurs. Since cultural rules often operate subconsciously, individuals may not be aware that they exist until they are broken. In a similar sense, if a supposed cultural rule is violated and no sanction occurs, there may be no such rule.

For example, a preliminary conclusion reached by the investigator in the Colegio study was that within groups of people from the same country, or among several who shared a common native language regardless of their place of birth, Spanish was rarely spoken, even in the school setting. One informant had commented that it would seem pompous and rude to speak Spanish among her American friends if no Spaniards were present, since if all present spoke English, it was much easier to speak English. To test this rule, the researcher entered groups of Americans and spoke Spanish. Additionally, confederates from other language groups entered conversations taking place in the native language and spoke Spanish. In almost every case, sanction was swift and strong: the person insisting on speaking Spanish was eventually ignored by other group members. Thus the investigator concluded that speaking one's native language was indeed a firm cultural expectation within groups of fellow speakers of that native language.

In sum, participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, and breaching experiments are especially well suited to a research setting about which little previous knowledge exists. Though a multilingual school for foreigners was clearly such a setting, the question may seem reasonable as to why such a setting was of interest. The Colegio, typical of a genre of such

experiences offered to the children of privileged classes wishing to learn subsequent languages, would seem to have little in common with long-range multilingual settings. In such settings, it must be noted, the stakes are much higher: economic and social relationships between language groups, housing and employment conditions all may be important issues. Indeed, it may seem questionable that incipient bilinguals have anything in common with native bilinguals, at least in terms of language switching behavior.

It is just such broad questions as these that ethnographic methods are uniquely suited to address. While the Colegio was clearly a diverse setting, involving speakers of at least 17 different languages, language switching was a communicative strategy of considerable importance. Ethnographic methods provided rich descriptive data of language switching norms in this setting; and it became evident that negotiation of language choice among Colegio students was frequently a conscious decision which had observable impact on interaction. Language switching was also a key to interpretive categories of cultural differences in this multicultural environment; namely, group stereotypes based on language use emerged as agreed-upon social categories within the setting of the Colegio. While generalizability of findings from the Colegio to other multilingual environments is yet to be demonstrated, data obtained regarding the functions of language switching in bilingual conversation may well inform categories of language behavior in other multilingual settings.

Ethnographic research, in its insistence upon prolonged social contact with subjects in their natural environment, may require longer-term commitment than traditional social science investigation which concentrates upon testing theories which have been developed elsewhere. The researcher needs time to become an unobtrusive part of the setting, in order to observe, without disrupting, the normal flow of events. Additional rapport with in-

formants may be necessary to probe for their system of meanings. In a complex cultural setting which defies easy categorization, however, ethnographic records may provide a source of rich descriptive data about a single phenomenon of interest.

Conversation Analysis

Hopper (1981) suggests an analogy of communication as a mosaic. Using this perspective, the Colegio data presented in the previous section offered a broad picture of language switching in that setting; as if from a distance, the pattern of the mosaic had become evident. In settings where a history of cultural interchange exists--where cross-cultural interaction has occurred for decades and where longer-range issues of economic and social structure have become more closely associated with language choice--a closer focus is necessary. Conversational analysis of language switching is one method akin to examining the mosaic's pattern a square inch at a time. Information about the materials used to make the tiles, how they were cemented together, differences and imperfections in the individual tiles, all become accessible during this process in a way which would not be possible from a greater distance.

Since conversation analysis has taken considerably different forms in diverse contexts to which it has been applied, explanatory or definitive treatments of the method are rare. Nonetheless, exemplars bound which demonstrate the versatility and range of possible applications of such procedures. This section will, first, describe conversation analysis and some of the contexts to which it has been applied; and second, illustrate the investigation of language switching through conversation analysis through one such study conducted in a bilingual setting.

Handel (1982) states that "(t)he abstraction of one theme from the complexity of everyday life allows the practices that organize the theme to be studied in detail . . . (Conversational analysis is) the study of social organization of talk by practices contained in the talk itself . . . (which) culminates in the specification of rules to which conversations and conversationalists are held normatively accountable." (p. 30). In other words, conversation analysis describes how people get things done through talk. Examples of conversational practices which have been studied in this manner include turn-taking (Sacks, et al., 1978); demand tickets, or ways of getting the floor (Nofsinger, 1975); indirect speech acts (requests and directives) (Searle, 1967); prefatory laughter (Jefferson, 1979); and ingrouping and outgrouping among teenagers (Sacks, 1979).

Two stable multilingual settings which have been investigated in various ways, including through conversation analysis, are French Canada (Heller, 1978; Lambert, 1967; Taylor, 1977; Bourhis & Genessee, 1977; etc.) and the Southwestern United States (Valdes-Fallis, n.d. and 1976; Elias-Olívares, 1978?; McMenamin, 1973; Metcalf, 1972; Penalosa; etc.). Though official status of coexisting languages differs among these two regions, each may nontheless be described as a stable intercultural communication setting. In both regions, speakers of English and speakers of Spanish or French comprise culturally distinct groups who have and interacted for generations. In both settings, language switching among bilinguals had been the subject of considerable previous study, as has been noted. The wealth of existing data makes fine-grained analysis of bilingual conversation in such a setting feasible; rather than noting types of incidents and seeking descriptive categories of events, as in the Colegio study, a primary aim can be to isolate episodes of language switching and to analyze them in considerable detail.

One such study was conducted among Mexican-American bilinguals in central Texas (Fitch, 1982). Previous research suggested contexts in which language switching would be likely to occur: among friends, rather than acquaintances (Valdes-Fallis, n.d.); in the "barrio", or home setting, rather than at work or school (Elías-Olívares, 1978); and almost entirely between Mexican-Americans, rather than bilingual Anglos or groups including both Mexican-Americans and Anglos (Peñalosa, 1980). Political and social issues relevant to language choice within this setting were also included in the literature, such as effects of Mexican-American speech on employment interview outcomes (de la Zerda & Hopper, 1979) and sanctions against use of Spanish in primarily Anglo schools (Andersson & Boyer, 1978; Walsh, 1969).

An example follows to illustrate both the type of data acquired and the type of analysis which resulted. This fragment of bilingual conversation was collected in Austin, Texas, in 1981; it is part of a longer, taped conversation between two Mexican-Americans which covered a variety of topics and contained several language switching episodes. Words in the right-hand column are the researcher's translation of Spanish words and phrases.

EXAMPLE

A:	Listen - es::te: - do you know Juan got married?	ummmm
B:	HH Juan?!!!	
A:	Juan got married to - to a gavacha.	Anglo (American)
B:	HH You're s - no.	
A:	Ye::s.	
B:	She must've been anti-gringo.	

Using a participant observation methodology such as that utilized in the Colegio study, such a conversation might easily be passed over, since the Spanish words make up a relatively small percentage of the utterances. From close scrutiny of a transcript and repeated listenings, however, a rather subtle comment on reality may be gleaned from the interaction. News (or gossip, depending on one's point of view) is being passed from A to B. Person B seems quite surprised by the news that Juan has married; an interesting question is whether B's surprise is due to the fact that Juan has married, or that he has married a "gavacha": a Mexican-American term for an Anglo. Perhaps more significant is A's description of the bride as a "gavacha" rather than (as B describes her) a "gringa": a much more common term for Anglos, and one which is certainly more familiar to Anglos themselves in the Southwest. Regardless of evaluative connotations of the two terms relative to each other, two fundamental aspects of groups and in-grouping among Mexican-Americans seem apparent from this conversation:

1. A indicate separation of Juan's bride from Mexican-American culture by use of a Spanish word meaning an outsider to describe her (as opposed to "Juan married an architect," or "Juan married an Anglo.") This connotation is strengthened by A's use of a term which is likely to be unfamiliar to most Angloes, unlike "gringo."

2. B demurs believing that for an Anglo to marry a Mexican-American, she must have rejected her own culture; having married into a Mexican-American family seems to imply separation from Anglo values. It is interesting to speculate whether this is true from the perspective of most Angloes. Assimilationist theory would suggest that it is; that members of ethnic groups must "melt down" their distinguishing characteristics if they aspire to become part of the American (read: Anglo) culture (Banks, 1981).

The point of this example is that the conversational dynamics of switching language can be subtle and complex; and perhaps impenetrable by out-group members without the aid of bilingual informants. Permanent records of talk, in the form of transcribed conversations, offer a data source in which the richness of language switching behavior and the evaluations it evokes may be most fully understood.

Inasmuch as language switching may well be a conversational dynamic confined to in-group members--bilinguals or ethnic minority members access to naturalistic data may prove difficult to those researchers who are not themselves members of the relevant in-group. In the next section a similar type of analysis using a more accessible data base is suggested.

Analysis of LS Through Literature

The study of communication behavior through literature has has been applied to dialogue in literature (Shuy, 1975; Ragan & Hopper, 1980). Analysis of language switching in literature thus seems a promising approach to the study of communication between cultures in contact. Literature becomes successful partially as a function of how realistically it portrays life. A writer is first and foremost responsible for making characters, setting, dialogue, and all other elements of a work seem plausible in the minds of the audience. To the extent that a piece of literature accurately reflects people and events, then, it may be examined much as data gathered in other ways is examined.

There are several other advantages to the study of literature. First, communication which would otherwise be privileged is readily accessible to all who would utilize it, for whatever purpose. Second, difficulties of intelligibility and accurate transcription common to much conversation analysis,

particularly that relying on naturalistic data, are largely eliminated through study of literature. A third advantage is that a writer's task is to present dilemmas on which a plot may turn. Her awareness of the conflicts and rough spots of intercultural contact may be heightened, or at least expressed more articulately, than would be expected in the everyday conversation of members of the community.

Shuy (1975) notes that writers not only internalize sociolinguistic rules, language functions and formal language knowledge; presumably they also make use of such features in the same way as do other speakers. That is to say, speakers apply communicative rules to situations though they would be at a loss to explain what those rules are, much as children acquire their native language though they are unable to describe their knowledge to others. It is Shuy's analysis of code switching in Lady Chatterley's Lover illustrates this point: D. H. Lawrence not only seems well aware of what functions are served by his characters' code-switching, and he makes this awareness explicit to readers on several occasions. He comments, for example:

"His voice on the last words had fallen into the heavy broad drag of the dialect . . . perhaps also in mockery because there had been no trace of dialect before." (Chapter V)

"She never knew how to answer him when he was in this condition of the vernacular." (Chapter XV)

Another work in which speakers' communicative aims in language switching situations are made explicit by the author is The Godfather. As bilingual characters switch, on occasion, from English to Sicilian, Mario Puzo makes clear to the reader that not only does the author know precisely the functions that switching is to serve in a given situation, but also that the characters themselves seem quite conscious of their reasons for doing so.

For example:

"People tell me you're rich. You and your two friends. But don't you think you've treated me a little shabbily? After all, this is my neighborhood and you should let me wet my beak." (Fanucci) used the Sicilian phrase of the Mafia, "Fari vagnari a pizzu." Pizzu means the beak of any small bird such as a canary. The phrase itself was a demand for part of the loot.

On another occasion, explanation for a language switch is made even more explicit. Members of two Mafia families meet to make peace after the attempted murder of Don Corleone, the head of one of the families. A police captain, confederate of the other family, accompanies the two to provide security. The Mafia members are both bilingual; the police captain speaks only English. The police captain engages only in "clean graft": that is, he will allow himself to be paid off for parking tickets and the like, while remaining innocently ignorant of more serious wrongdoing such as drug trafficking and prostitution. As the two principals begin their conference, the older man--who immigrated to the U. S. as a teenager--apologizes to the police captain:

. . ."I am going to talk Italian to Mike, not because I don't trust you but because I can't explain myself properly in English and I want to convince Mike that I mean well, that it's to everybody's advantage for us to come to an agreement tonight. Don't be insulted by this, it's not that I don't trust you."

Captain McCluskey gave them both an ironic grin. "Sure, you two go right ahead," he said. "I'll concentrate on my veal and spaghetti."

At this point the older man switches into Sicilian and the two begin to discuss the matter at hand: drug trafficking. First, the apology itself indicates concern on the part of the older man that the police chief will consider language switching evidence of distrust; an interpretation which he wished to dispel. Then, of course, he uses Sicilian for the very purpose for

which he has just denied he will use it: to conceal information. Tacit agreements between the police chief and the Mafia don seem evident from this exchange: (a) that interpersonal trust, or at least an appearance of trust, must be preserved; and (b) that the Sicilian is therefore obligated to protect the police chief from information he wishes not to know: that this is not clean graft at all, but an activity that the police chief could not close his eyes to if it were revealed to him explicitly.

Second, the older man's excuse for switching to Sicilian is almost certainly not available to the younger man, a college graduate whose first language is English. The younger man's only possible motive for switching to Sicilian would seem to be secrecy; and while the need for secrecy between organized crime figures and a police chief would seem to be obvious, still there exists a social norm against excluding someone from a conversation when physically they are a part of it.

Analysis of LS in works of literature offers yet another perspective on a behavior which is an integral part of intercultural communication in numerous diverse settings. The concluding section of this essay will suggest integration of each of the previously discussed research methods into workable intercultural theory.

Conclusion

This essay has been concerned with ways to study a phenomenon common to many types of intercultural communication settings: language or code switching. Three methods were illustrated: ethnographic description, consisting of participant observation, interviewing, and breaching experiments; conversation analysis of bilingual interaction; and investigation through literature. Such diverse methods of study, however, are only a first step. A perspective is needed which may integrate research findings into useful

intercultural communication theory, one which may also be incorporated into education and training in the field.

Grimshaw suggests that just as there are universal rules of grammar that apply to all languages, there may be a "metagrammar" of social interaction that cuts across cultural boundaries (in Wintsch, 1979). Though language and code switching have typically been studied as culture-specific behavior, there seems in fact to be considerable similarity of language relationships and functions among multilingual settings (Fitch, 1982.) Regardless of the other functions it may serve in conversation, language switching metacommunicates: it adds information on a higher level of abstraction than either language or code in itself. It is this metacommunicative aspect which suggests most strongly that language switching as a speech act is a part of a universal metagrammar of bilingual interaction.

Frame analysis (Goffman, 1974) offers a set of terms which can be used to describe metacommuncation through language and code switching. It is a perspective which basically asks, "What is it that's going on here?" in a given situation. Switching language may frame a conversation as informal rather than formal, for example; or indicate to participants that humor, game-playing or deception was taking place.

Frame analysis offers a perspective which not only may be applied to each of the research approaches described earlier; it may also serve to bring together past and current research into useful intercultural theory. I began by describing several contexts in which language switching was an intergral aspect of interaction: in bilingual and multiethnic classrooms, in second language acquisition, and in communities where groups are defined by language or dialect distinctions. Yet LS as a communicative event specific to such diverse multicultural settings is incompletely understood: a symptom of

what many researchers have noted as a pervasive difficulty in the field of intercultural communication. Though there has been research in language switching in each of these contexts, the focus has too often been on demographic factors affecting its occurrence, rather than on LS as a speech act itself. Put briefly, language and code switching performs actions in bilingual/

bidialectal talk; unity may be found in studies of these actions that is lacking in the diversity of who switches language when, and to whom, in a single setting.

A reluctance to generalize from one LS context to another, or to synthesize previous work in order to guide future inquiry, unfortunately has characterized much intercultural communication scholarship. Too few general paradigms for research, and too few conceptual schemes based on empirical research, presently exist (Korzenny, Neuendorf & Griffis, 1980.) Training and education in the field reflect this lack of focus; too often, personal experience gained while immersed in a multicultural enviornment is the only basis for otherwise unsubstantiated knowledge claims (Paige & Martin, 1982). Teachers in bilingual settings should be especially well-informed about language attitudes and their effects, since they are in a unique position to do much good, as well as considerable harm (Edwards, 1983).

A final research direction which may serve as the basis for such unified theory is one which approaches a communication event from several diverse perspectives simultaneously. One such study investigated language attitudes among Puerto Ricans in New York City (see Carranza, 1982). The research team on this project consisted of a sociologist, a psychologist and a linguist;

methods included participant observation self-reporting, recorded interviews, performance testing, and a context analysis of Spanish newspapers and Spanish radio programs. Such an approach shows considerable promise for integrating the contributions of several disciplines which previously have investigated language attitudes separately.

Language and code switching is an area which shows particular promise for such theoretical development and practial application, because it is a unique communicative practice which characterizes a wide variety of multicultural settings. Among bilingual educators, decision makers, and those who would enter such settings for whatever purpose, the implications of using one speech style or language rather than another must be far more clearly understood.

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